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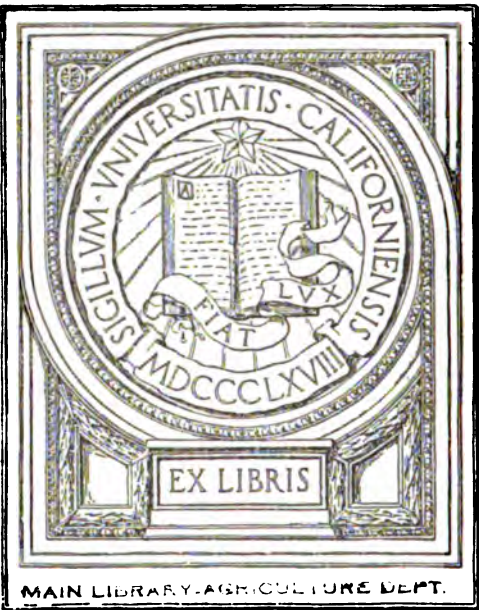
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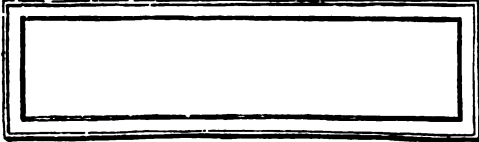
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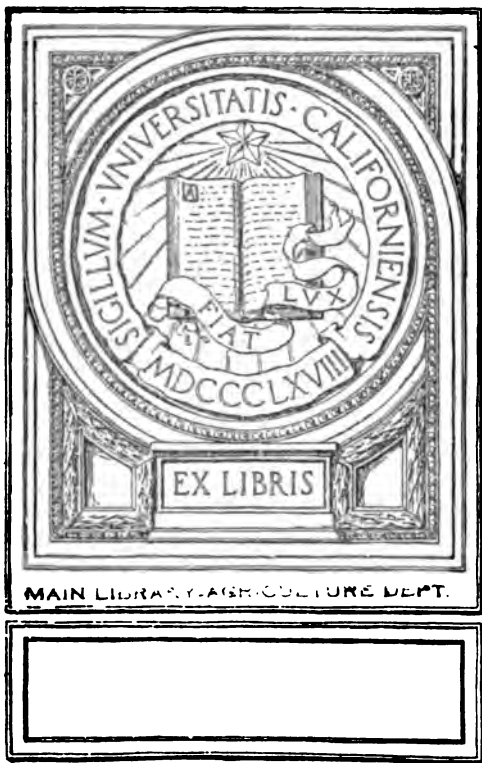
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AMERICA AND THE NEW ERA

**AMERICAN PROBLEMS OF
RECONSTRUCTION**

**A National Symposium on the Economic
and Financial Aspects.**

Edited by ELISHA M. FRIEDMAN.

**With a Foreword by FRANKLIN K. LANE,
Secretary of the Interior.**

**LABOR AND RECONSTRUC-
TION IN EUROPE**

By ELISHA M. FRIEDMAN.

**With an Introduction by WILLIAM B.
WILSON, Secretary of Labor.**

**INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE
AND RECONSTRUCTION**

By ELISHA M. FRIEDMAN.

**With an Introduction by JOSEPH FRENCH
JOHNSON, Dean of School of Commerce,
Accounts and Finance, New York
University.**

E. P. DUTTON & COMPANY

AMERICA AND THE NEW ERA

A Symposium on Social Reconstruction

EDITED BY

ELISHA M. FRIEDMAN

EDITOR OF "AMERICAN PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION," AUTHOR
OF "LABOR AND RECONSTRUCTION IN EUROPE," ETC.

WITH A FOREWORD BY
HERBERT HOOVER



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TO
THE PIONEERS OF DEMOCRACY
THE MANY UNKNOWN MEN AND WOMEN
IN AMERICA AND ELSEWHERE
WHO ARE SILENTLY BUILDING
THE GREAT SOCIETY

498939

*“Where there is no vision, the people perisheth;
But happy is the people that keepeth the law.”*

—PROVERBS XXIX:18

PREFACE

In an age of specialization, one's activities are necessarily delimited by the professional interest. However, the great war has affected more than the vocational superstructure of our lives. It has rocked the foundations of civilization, and compelled the revaluation of many standards far more vital and more basic than the vocational. This fact may explain, if it does not justify, this excursion afield of a student of economics.

The war has changed many of the conditions of living which demand analysis. Unlike the chemist or physicist, the student of the social sciences cannot vary the conditions of his experiments, but must wait until the processes of history afford him an opportunity to observe variations in phenomena, and to study their causes.

The war has upset some accepted articles of faith, but it has confirmed many others, which not only stood the test of war, but determined the victory. Many new needs have arisen and some old tendencies have become clearer.

We are entering a new era. We may do so blindly, or we may attempt to crystallize our ideas on the issues arising out of the war for the purpose of intelligently controlling social forces.

The problems of social and of political adjustment, and of the conservation of human resources, are neither less pressing nor less significant to the country than are the economic and financial questions, which have riveted the attention of statesmen and publicists during the past year. The little attention which the social problems have received is not a criterion of their relative importance in the life of the American people. It is characteristic of human nature to neglect those problems which, though they deal with the most fundamental aspects of the national life, lack the driving force of the economic motive.

This volume is a sequel to "American Problems of Reconstruction, a Symposium on the Economic and Financial Aspects." In

the treatment of their subjects the contributors were requested to discuss:

1. What have been the effects of the war?
 - a. What pre-war conditions have become more clearly defined?
 - b. What new conditions has the war brought to light?
2. What should be our policy during the reconstruction period?

Thanks for suggestions are due to Drs. Dickinson, Rogers and Wolman, and others of the group of men who gathered at the Cosmos Club during the war. The volume has benefited as a result of the advice of Dean William H. Welch, of the School of Public Health of the Johns Hopkins University, and of my brother, David, particularly in the section dealing with the social aspects of medicine. Grateful acknowledgment is also made to President Frank J. Goodnow, Professors Charles H. Cooley, Franklin H. Giddings, M. M. Kaplan, T. I. Parkinson, Roscoe Pound, E. A. Ross, and Arthur J. Todd, and Mr. Abraham Flexner, for helpful suggestions.

The Editor.

Washington, D. C.,
Feb. 4, 1920.

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FOREWORD

BY HERBERT HOOVER

Social Life is Organic.—An attempt to deal with the social problems of the new era leads to an examination of some basic concepts. Primarily, social life is organic and not mechanical. After centuries of trial and error, the human race, the survivor of æons of biological evolution, has developed divers social institutions to meet its needs. No over-night change can be grafted permanently onto a slowly developing world. To study our social life, we have sectioned it for convenience; we have broken it up into comprehensible bits. But life is more than the sum total of these concepts and society is something more than aggregations or groups of producers and consumers and capitalists. Almost every man plays each of these rôles at different times. And every social philosophy which opposes one of these classes to another is based on a false primary assumption.

As an analogy, let us recall the old scientific notions. We used to talk of physics and chemistry and biology as if they were separate realities. We now know that they are merely different ways of looking at the same natural phenomenon. The great progress in our knowledge of nature and in its application to human welfare arose from a unification of these disparate sciences and a truer view of life resulted from the study of the border fields, electro-chemistry, mathematical physics and biological chemistry.

Life is a complex whole, and except in the mind of the theorist, no simple formula can solve all the pressing problems of the present. Terms must not be confused with realities, or labels with conditions. We must face concrete facts, rather than attempt to apply doctrinaire generalizations. The ventures into the unknown have allurements, because unlike present conditions, their difficulties and injustices are not evident in operation.

In the crude historic processes of adaptation, government always lags behind social development. The industrial system de-

veloped, and only generations later were factory laws enacted. The great corporations of to-day grew, and only years later were effective anti-monopoly measures adopted. The lag between the development of social functions and the creation of governmental machinery to deal with them is the period of acute unrest and agitation. Our governmental ethics lag behind private ethics. The political lobbyist and the ward politician thrived in a generation when his prototype had become extinct in business relations. American government is far less efficient than American business. But progress in making up the handicap, though slow, has been certain. If our pace is to be less tardy, we shall have to apply to our social and political problems the attitude that marks the successes of America, the attitude of the business man, of the engineer and of the scientist.

Scientific Method and Social Problems.—Because life is complex, integrated, organic, and ever-changing, our political and economic problems call for the application not of any set doctrine, or fixed formula, or principle of deduction, but of the scientific, inductive method. The facts, whatever they are, must be the basis of scientific social procedure. The one hundred thousand professional engineers in the United States, men trained in exact thinking and in administrative responsibility, who were drafted into civilian and military service during the war, vindicated the scientific attitude in dealing with problems of social organization. Unknown difficulties succumb to scientific analysis. When the engineers in the American Relief Administration undertook the novel task of feeding entire nations in Europe, there were no experts on the subject. But the application of scientific method to social problems produced the amazing result, that in spite of almost five years of continuous famine, the disease mortality among the children of Belgium was reduced to less than the pre-war normal. The problems facing America to-day, if attacked in the scientific spirit, will yield similar happy results.

Lessons of the War.—But the lessons of the war go further than child feeding. When civilization was threatened, and gruesome economies had to be effected, the mature adults made the sacrifices for they had less significance to the race future than had the children, who are the physical carriers of institutions and traditions, and who pass on the torch of civilization from the hands of the present generation. Again, in the chaos of Europe,

the importance to stable government of widespread education and of a high level of literacy, was made apparent. Germany, lowest in illiteracy among the nations of the world, weathered her revolution with little suffering, whereas Russia, with a very high percentage of illiteracy, is paying in a most cruel way for the blighting ignorance, which the imperial régime fostered to insure its own perpetuation. Have we, in America, sufficiently taken to heart the two paramount lessons of the war—the place of popular education and child welfare in a self-governing society?

Industrial Unrest.—As an aftermath of the war, the world is in the throes of industrial unrest, here and elsewhere. The psychology of war was the expression of the herd instinct; every member of the community rallied to its defense. Social motives displaced personal motives. The industrial struggle was adjourned. The peace brought a return of the normal conflicts in society; these are not to be deplored. They need to be conducted under such limitations as will insure least harm to the social structure, whatever be its character. Industrial struggle must be confined by rules to insure fair play to the contending parties, as well as to the innocent bystanders—the unorganized public.

Industrial discontent is a natural consequence of the rise of the industrial system, just as agrarian revolts in France in 1789 and in Russia in 1917 were the outcome of unjust distribution of land holdings. We face the problem of the distribution of the products of industry. In our graduated income taxes we have grappled with the difficulties of the distribution of national income, and in our inheritance taxes, with the problem of the distribution of wealth.

In our further efforts to achieve just relations, we must bear some economic truths in mind. That part of the surplus of production over consumption that is available for compensation to labor may be increased not only by a more equitable distribution but by increased production. And the greater enjoyment of comforts by the average man of to-day over his ancestor of a century ago is due not so much to a more equal distribution, but as a result of mechanical inventions, to a vastly increased production per man. The old theory of a fixed wage fund is exploded. The more goods produced, the more there is to distribute.

To increase production, the workman must be given an incentive to produce. Industry must be humanized. Labor must be regarded not merely as a cost of production, but as a living agent, with human instincts and social wants.

But no amount of syllogizing can overcome the basic human motive of the individual, of universally seeking to obtain for himself and his family the benefits of his effort and his ingenuity. Industry must be the resultant of two psychologic forces, the altruistic and the selfish. The attempt to run industry entirely on a selfish basis led to the evils of the factory system in the early nineteenth century. The attempt to run industry solely on an altruistic basis has led to the chaos in Russia to-day.

During the war large measures were taken on both sides of the battle-front to secure the mobilization of production and distribution for maximum use in the struggle. Vast sections of industry were effectively socialized. The success of these measures at that time was due to the patriotic impulse of war. But those who conducted these large operations were men of initiative and capacity, selected under the competitive system. The war impulses have passed and these organizations now face disaster from reduced productivity resulting in a rising cost of living and the need for subsidies for the common commodities of consumption.

There is no better example of this condition than the coal industry in Europe. Even omitting Russia, production has fallen from a rate of 600,000,000 tons per annum at the time of the signing of the armistice, to a rate of 450,000,000 tons recently. The coal industry is the life-blood of the modern state and it has proved a sensitive register of forces which diminish production and jeopardize the entire social fabric. Most European leaders of socialism realize the bankruptcy of their theories and are endeavoring to cover their retreat by ascribing the failure to other causes.

The Food Supply.—But although the United States is in an era of industrial development, our food production is a most vital item in our domestic economy and in our foreign trade.

The prime problem is to make agriculture economically attractive so that it may draw its quota of energy and ability from American life and keep pace with the rapid development of industry. In normal times the prices of farm products are deter-

mined primarily by competition of the great sources of the world's food supply. Prices are thus only remotely regulated by the cost of production. The farmer must plant in advance and gamble on the demand. He cannot decrease his production to meet adverse contingencies with the facility that organized industry enjoys. Furthermore, the American farmer receives a smaller proportion of the consumers' purchase price for his product than the farmer of most other civilized countries. That is, the margin between the selling price of the farmer and the purchase price of the ultimate consumer is the widest in the world. Since prices are normally fixed by world forces, this margin comes predominantly out of the pocket of the farmer and not the consumer. The practical remedy therefore lies in decreasing the cost of placing the products of the farm into the hands of the consumer. Every decrease in this cost redounds to the benefit of the farmer.

One of the most effective measures in reducing the cost of distribution has been coöperation among producers. We have some successful marketing coöperatives, which have proved their value both to producer and consumer. But we have never developed the coöperation of farmers to the extent that Europe has. As coöperative marketing does not repress initiative or competition, the bogie of reducing output and increasing cost cannot be conjured up by the opposed interests. The economic value to the farmer of having a daily national price created by the ebb and flow of untrammelled trade in central markets has not been fully appreciated. In those commodities in which trading is unorganized neither the farmer nor the consumer can determine the right price and the margin between the consumer and the producer is wide. Wide margins are a measure of hazard. The war proved to be a great laboratory of experience and the subject demands an exhaustive investigation that the processes of distribution may be standardized and made efficient.

Americanism, an Attitude to Social Problems.—To the extent that some of our national problems cannot be reduced to a quantitative basis or resolved by scientific methods, we must turn to the inspiration of American history in order to find a mode of approach. And the history of our country is a story of the guaranties of freedom. The first amendments to the Constitution rewrote the Bill of Rights into our fundamental law.

During the few years following the establishment of the Republic, rightly called by John Fiske the critical period of American history, we passed and then promptly repealed the Alien and Sedition Laws. And with the judicial interpretations of the Constitution the tradition of liberty was strengthened.

We must approach our problems in the light of our own history and our own experience and not with the prejudices of the crusted societies of Europe. America is a distinctive social personality, and personality is characterized by a peculiar reaction to problems, a unique way of doing things. The war revealed this individual note. Instead of forcing food cards on our citizens, the government tried democratic methods of rationing—voluntary abstinence from certain foods on specified days.

For generations the American people have been steadily developing a social philosophy as part of their own democracy. And in these ideals, it differs from all other democracies. This philosophy has stood this period of test in the fire of common sense; it is, in substance, that there should be an equality of opportunity—an equal chance—to every citizen. This view that every individual should not be handicapped in securing, within his lifetime, that particular niché in the community to which his abilities and character entitle him, is itself the negation of class. Human beings are not equal in these qualities. But a society that is based upon a constant flux of individuals in the community, upon the basis of ability and character, is a moving virile mass; it is not a stratification of classes. Its inspiration is individual initiative. Its stimulus is competition. Its safeguard is education. Its greatest mentor is free speech and voluntary organization for public good. Its expression in legislation is the common sense and common will of the majority. It is the essence of this democracy that progress of the mass must arise from progress of the individual. It does not permit the presence in the community of those who would not give full meed of service.

Equality of opportunity and the maintenance of initiative may be attained not through the crystallization of economic classes arrayed against each other and exerting their influence by conflict nor through the transfer to governmental bureaus the distribution of either goods or ideas, but through the systematic prevention of domination by the few of the many and the stimula-

tion of individual effort among the members of the whole community.

The Social Conscience.—The motivating influence to progress has been the American social conscience. The ethics of big business have risen since 1900 not alone as the result of legislative enactment and judicial decision, but also as a result of the awakening of the conscience of America. In the matter of trusts, railways, tariff and rural credits, there has been increasing public condemnation of pillage in the high places and a corresponding extra-judicial submission to public opinion. Our industrial development has outrun legal procedure and the lag is made less hurtful to the community because of the power of public opinion, a force more potent and pervasive than the law itself. An intervention of the public interest is usually avoided. Government investigation as an influence to business rectitude is distinctly an American institution.

Of course opinion, after it has matured, is strengthened by legislative provisions. For example, the labor legislation of Kansas, like that of Australia, provides for the repression of the right to strike or lockout, for the compulsory settlement of labor disputes, for the determination of a fair wage and a fair profit, and as a final resort the conduct of the industry by the state. The experiment may succeed. It is, however, an experiment with many dangers, for it sacrifices a right of labor for the sake of problematical gains. The sacrifice of liberty is an insecure road to progress. If it does succeed it will again vindicate a broad tolerance of political experimentation by pioneering states for the benefit of the others in the Union. Furthermore, it will justify the comparative study of political procedure among our states and abroad. Much of our constructive legislation in recent years has been the product of investigation of the administrative systems of other countries, another feature of the scientific attitude in social work. The experiment may be worth while for the determination to the American people of its futility and any such determination is of value in social progress.

We should neither resent nor repress pioneering in politics. Lawful radicalism is often less dangerous than reaction, for radicalism is blatant and displays itself in the open. Unlawful radicalism can be handled by the police. Reaction too often fools the people through subtle channels of obstruction and progressive

platitudes. There is little danger of radicalism ever controlling the country with so large a farmer population, except in one contingency, the continued attempt to control this country by divers forms of our domestic reactionaries.

PART I
PERSPECTIVES, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL

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CHAPTER I

THE NEW ERA AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

BY THE EDITOR

Characteristics of the New Era.—What is meant by the new era and what are its distinguishing marks? The psychological element in the present situation is the desire on the part of a world just released from a nightmare of 52 months to regard the old era as closed and to think of a happy time in the future. Even if one makes full allowance for this factor, the new era does seem a reality. But may one truly say that the World War marked the beginning of this period? It is dangerous to fix any year as the beginning or the end of an historic age. In attempting to show how the fin de siècle spirit in politics, art and literature coincided with the close of the nineteenth century, Max Nordau in his "Degeneration" pointed out the difficulty of associating social movements with chronological landmarks. But there have been such accepted landmarks in the past. The sack of Rome in the year 476 is conveniently regarded as the end of the ancient era. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 brought on the Renaissance, a new era in art and literature. The French Revolution in 1789 ushered in the new era of individual liberty. And so in like manner the great war was more than a mere sign-post in history. It was itself a product of unstable forces whose realignment over a long period of time and in a less costly way would have brought on a new age. The great war hastened the coming of an era of the emancipation of suppressed peoples, of the guarantee of the rights of minority nationalities in the state, and of the democratization of industry. The process of socializing the individual was accelerated.

The new era manifests several distinct characteristics. Not the individual, but the group is the central concept of modern political thought. The battle cry of the French Revolution was "liberty,

equality and fraternity," for the individual. Legally, this doctrine had been paraphrased in the state papers of the American Revolution, that all men were created equal, and had the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Our day is no longer concerned in the same manner with the individual. The liberty of the individual to get drunk yields to the rights of society to prohibit drinking. The emphasis is now shifted to society. Its shibboleths are industrial democracy in Great Britain, communism in Russia, self-determination in Ireland, Central Europe and Shantung, and the League of Nations everywhere, except in the United States Senate.

This is a period of social gestation. The social woes of the day may be the pangs of the coming order. And the zeal for social reform may be the enthusiasm attending a new birth. Society is creating new forms of life. Economic groups are emerging and becoming distinct. The development of the labor organizations is a large step in this process. Group consciousness has been strengthened as a result of its expression in group organization and in the display of group power.

By the manifestation of their great power to attain their ends and of their irresponsibility to other groups in the community, labor organizations may hasten the formation of consumers' groups, whose united power as purchasers may be used to harmonize their conflicting claims with those of organizations of producers. In the absence of any effective and organized consumers' interest in the United States, the federal government has by the use of war-time powers presumed to determine how, for example, the price of coal to the consumer is to regulate the wages of coal producers. On the other hand, by the Treasury agreement of 1915 the labor organizations of Great Britain consented to a fixing of the wages of their members upon the condition that profits to employers be regulated by taxation. Society to-day is suffering from the display of power by the group that developed earliest, the producers, and will probably continue to do so until consumers, professional groups, and the salaried class, or society's overhead, are organized into groups with whose interests the forces of labor must be harmonized and by whose power the labor group may be controlled. Social responsibility and self-restraint have been slow to develop as a check upon the

arbitrary use of group power, and as a result organized minorities by their acts frequently inconvenience the rest of society.

Coördination of power measures the degree of development of an organism, biological or social. Interdependence in function and specialization in structure are taken as standards of the stage of evolution. As a toddling child develops its muscles by crude practice before it coördinates them, so society is developing its classes and groups before it can harmonize them.

Again, in the new era the limits of social self-consciousness and of sympathy are being extended to include an ever wider social unit. There is a consciousness of the international group, humanity. As Hobhouse puts it, "there never was a time among civilized peoples when there was so much diffused sensitiveness to any form of social ailment."¹ The sense of world suffering when any of its peoples is hungry or thwarted in its national expression is evidence of an internationalism, which was never so understood as it is to-day. Internationalism dominates both the conscience and the policy of an ever growing portion of the world and to give expression thereto the nations are attempting to form themselves into a world organization. Men are conscious of ties to an increasing number of groups. Interests and relations of men are cutting across political lines. Non-political groupings, scientific, commercial and industrial, are increasingly transnational. Peace between the nations may mean not the cessation of war but a change of venue, from the national to the international arena, from the geographical to the economic basis, from military to industrial weapons.

Self-consciousness, whether of individual or social organisms, is a measure of evolution. For, as self-consciousness distinguishes humanity from other animal life biologically, so a self-conscious society represents a higher stage of development than does the society of the past. The principle that the growth of social self-consciousness is a step forward in the development of the race has important corollaries. Blind forces of the world of matter as well as of social and political tradition are losing their mastery over men. Adjustment is no longer made to a given environment but the environment is being molded to the needs

¹Leonard T. Hobhouse. *Social Evolution and Political Theory*. Columbia Univ. Press, 1913, p. 2.

of humanity. Manipulation by man is replacing adaptation of man. The growth of social self-consciousness has been the prerequisite for the growth of social control of the forces about man. But social control implies conscious purpose and direction. Therefore, the man of the hour is not the radical but the administrator, not the man who breaks down the old but the man who shows us how to mold the new. The radical had a place in the old regime when accepted prejudices had to be broken up. He has less of a function in the new order, for society is more mobile now than ever before. When the environment is rigid, the danger is that progress may be too slow. When society makes the environment, the danger is that change may be too rapid.

A further mark of the present era is what might be called the new humanism, a transfer of interest from the processes of production to the conditions of life and of labor, an emphasis not upon commodities but upon the men that make them. This is but another aspect of increased social self-consciousness. We are thinking not entirely in terms of the material world about us, but in part in terms of humanity itself. We are in an age of reaction from the brilliant technical triumphs over nature, achieved regardless of social expense. Not an endless stream of production, purchased at the cost of the welfare of children, of the hard labor of women, and of dysgenic conditions, is the aim of society to-day. The world has changed its viewpoint from that of the mercantilist school of economists, and of the efficiency engineer, to that of the sociologist who interposes a new and more human scale of values. The shift in emphasis has come at a time when increased production is essential to make good the waste of war. "Work and save" may be changed from a piece of gratuitous advice to a practical *modus vivendi* if the psychology of the present labor unrest is understood.

Does the new era mean the repression of individualism? If by individualism is meant *laissez faire*, the power to do as one pleases—and this reduces to the privilege of the powerful to oppress the lowly, the freedom of the weak to be exploited by the strong—whether it be exemplified in the robber barons of the Middle Ages, the slaveholders of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or the unregulated manufacturing class of the nineteenth century, that kind of individualism is being continually narrowed in extent. Men became free as their rights were re-

stricted. The limits of the law enlarged the freedom of majorities as it abridged the rights of powerful minorities. In a social era the contacts of the individual multiply, his relations to other men increase in number, and he obtains freedom through association. The more individual he is the greater is the number of his contacts with society. The fullness of life consists in the number of conscious relations of the individual to society. He lives the most individual life who budgets his time as well as his income in the discharge of social responsibilities as much as in the satisfaction of personal needs. Because the social group affords the individual the greatest capacity for self-realization, he is freest in serving his group. Under such conditions, public service is not a duty but a means of self-expression.

The Nature and Meaning of Progress.—To what extent are the characteristics of the new era the signs of progress? In the view of the spokesmen of the defeated powers, the great war marks not an advance but a retrogression. Walther Rathenau sees as the fruit of the World War the Balkanization of Europe. Pessimists in other countries deny that mankind progresses, and affect to see in the aftermath of the war a collapse of European culture, in a measure, such as followed the fall of Rome. They hold that mankind moves in cycles but not upward, that society changes but does not progress.

There are indeed difficulties which lend color to these denials of progress. The goal of civilization is not fixed but is continually changing with man's evolving ideals. And it is all the more difficult to measure reality against a shifting goal. Furthermore, social progress must be slow, and the advance toward the infinite ideals we cherish therefore sometimes seems infinitesimal. And finally, the period of social change is the generation or century, whereas human beings conveniently measure by the standards of their experience, months and years. Just as astronomical distance cannot be measured with a foot-rule, so the time factor of social processes cannot be reduced to the beatings of the human heart.

Some thinkers hold that progress is universal, inevitable, and the result of some natural force, the product of the innate instinct of humanity for perfection. But progress is neither inherent nor inevitable. Nations and civilizations in the past have decayed. Progress is not a gift of Providence. It is a result of

effort. Balfour says, and probably correctly, that "progress is no form of indestructible energy which, if repressed here must needs break out there, if refused embodiment in one shape must needs show itself in another. It is a plant of tender habit, difficult to propagate, not difficult to destroy, that refuses to flourish except in a soil which is not to be found everywhere, nor at all times."²

Progress is not achieved at a uniform rate, nor equally in all fields of human activity, scientific, æsthetic, religious, political or economic. Progress in some particular direction seems to characterize a specific age or country. The existence and rate of progress are conditioned by many factors, the character of the physical environment, the nature and abundance of material resources, the success attained in utilizing them, the human element, the extent of its freedom and leisure, and of its vitality and restlessness, the nature of the social organization, its resistance to change, and the freedom of opportunity of the individual in it.

What are the factors of civilization whereby progress may be measured? The many standards that have been set up by thinkers of the past may be reduced to a basic one—the socialization of the individual, or to two—control of the physical environment for the benefit of society, and the self-control of man in his relations to his fellows. Or, in slightly amplified form, progress may be measured by the extent of—

- (1) the extension of human knowledge and the application of science and art to the well-being of man in society,
- (2) the utilization of insurance and mutual aid to eliminate extreme suffering,³
- (3) the exercise of freedom of thought and of expression and the tolerance of minority views,
- (4) the improvement in the principles of conduct, and the establishment of justice,
- (5) the abolition of hereditary or other unearned privilege, and the establishment of opportunity for self-development,
- (6) the destruction of inequality between nations and between citizens of a nation,

² *A Fragment on Progress*, Arthur James Balfour.

³ "The test of civilization is the point below which its weakest and most unfortunate members are allowed to fall."

- (7) the respect for law and the stability of government,
- (8) decision by compromise instead of by combat, or the substitution of rational persuasion for force,
- (9) the widening of the social unit,
- (10) the belief in the Infinite as the ultimate inspiration to just and rational social conduct.

Reduced to terms of efficiency, progress may be measured by the cost to the individual of the functioning of society. Measured by any of the above standards, who can deny that society was on a higher level in 1900 than in 1800, or than at any other previous age of history? And in spite of the many manifest and serious defects in the treaty of peace, there inheres, on the whole, greater possibility for progress in the new order than under the old regime.

The Methods of Achieving Progress.—Whatever value war may have had as a spring of progress in the past, its futility in this regard has been demonstrated by recent experience. War was effective in developing the martial virtues, only when a small proportion of the human race was involved, and when war was not so destructive as modern science has made it. It succeeded in fusing small tribes into a few great nations, when the national units had not yet been clearly defined.

War always selects the strong for death. The militaristic nation of one age is the decadent nation of the next. The Napoleonic Wars shortened the stature of the Frenchman by over an inch. The children born during the siege of Paris were neuro-pathic. The cases of locomotor-ataxia in Germany in the late eighties and early nineties were due to venereal infection in 1870 and 1871. The great war, like all others, has left behind an army of diseased and crippled, of orphans and of underfed human stock. In a sense, war purges the race of the violent nations and leaves the peaceful to build civilization.

But the social evils of war match the baneful biological effects. Modern civilization is a complicated and delicate organism, nicely adjusted to conditions of close international coöperation. The war has broken up economic intercourse, caused pestilence and famine, repressed scientific achievement, demoralized those standards of conduct which conserve and perpetuate society, and eliminated the beneficent economic and cultural influences of nations

on each other. The progress of the race may be set back generations as a result of the war, although in the breakdown of traditional barriers and in the general mobile state of society, during social crises, latent forces of progress do find expression.

As a result of the World War the philosophy of the superior race thrusting its culture and will upon others has received a setback if not its deathblow. Human development is taking place increasingly, not as a result of war between "superior and inferior" races, but as a result of peaceful contacts, of the conflict of ideas, and of the competition of enlightened opinion.

The biologist views social progress in terms of the struggle for survival and of the breeding of the fittest, but the sociologist would qualify the value of biological methods as applied to humanity. Natural selection was a cruel and wasteful process of adapting men to a given environment which called for brute strength and agility. But the physical development of men reached its present level eons ago. The biological process has since been replaced by the social process. Adaptation of man to the environment has largely been replaced by the process of creating an environment that suited men and of facilitating his adaptation thereto. Natural selection lacked a human aim, but purpose is a distinguishing mark of the social process. Natural selection was replaced by social selection, which operates through social medicine, law, custom, ethics, philanthropy and education. For selection in future will have as its duty not only to keep man at a level of physical development adequate to his needs, but also by the practice of communal aid, and by social amelioration to develop the essentially human traits of kindness and altruism. By extending the fullest opportunity for the mental development of the individual, the cultural horizon of man may be extended and the sum total of the intellectual assets of the race may be utilized for the common good. Society may attain these ends not by submitting to natural selection, but by setting up its own standards of selection, and by directing all its forces and institutions upon winning recognition for them. For "while the race has been relatively stagnant, society has rapidly developed, and we must conclude that, whether for good or for evil, social changes are mainly determined, not by alteration of the racial type, but by modifications of tradition due to the interactions of social causes. Progress is not racial but

social. * * * The struggle for existence is now conceived as a struggle between communities, and while it is admitted that in the community there is a certain suspension or mitigation of the war of all against all, it is insisted none the less that it is still through struggle, still through elimination, that progress takes place, only the elimination is now applied to communities as a whole; the weaker community goes under, and it is still well that it should go under."⁴

The biologist would develop society by the methods of a Burbank. As one enthusiast ventured it, "Specify the kind of society you desire, and the eugenist will make it to order."

But, eugenics as a means of making a better society has its limitations. In theory, as Jordan pointed out, the replacing of mating through the agencies of spontaneous sympathy and affection by a rationalized selection from a catalogued list of qualities, would mean the disappearance from the race of the element of romance which so colors and enriches life. In addition, there are the limitations of method. We have too little accurate knowledge of eugenics to enable us to make intelligent application of the principles. Its procedure is either unworkable, as sterilization, segregation, and restrictions on marriage, or else it constitutes an interference, unwarranted by the present state of our knowledge. We have not yet been able to reduce human traits to the "unit characters" of the eugenist.

It is true that, in a large measure, ability is hereditary. Galton's study of the histories of a large number of British men of science showed a genealogical persistence of intellectual distinction. The material in "Who's Who" shows a distribution of ability, laterally among the members of the same family and vertically through successive generations. On the other hand, many of the great men of history have had very mediocre descendants, and the "approach of a great man was in no sort indicated by scintillations along the genealogical track."

But, however fitful nature may be, surely genius is confined to no economic class. It is scattered throughout society. "There is nowhere in the land any home so remote, so humble, that it may not contain the power of mind and heart and conscience to which nations yield and history submits its processes. Nature pays no tribute to aristocracy, subscribes to no creed of caste,

'Hobhouse, *idem*.